

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SF
SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: THE WHITE FARMER'S ROLE IN
 NATIONAL POLITICS

1. SUMMARY: SOUTH AFRICA'S WHITE FARMERS, WHO NUMBER ONLY 71,000 AND MAKE UP JUST OVER SIX PERCENT OF THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION, HOLD A DISPROPORTIONATELY POWERFUL POSITION WITHIN THE WHITE POLITICAL STRUCTURE. THEY ARE GENERALLY AMONG THE HIGHEST INCOME GROUPS, THEY ARE POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL IN LOCAL AFFAIRS, THEY ARE STRONGLY REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT AND THE CABINET, AND THEY HAVE AN ORGANIZED AND EFFECTIVE LOBBYING MACHINE. THE FARMERS SEEM KEENLY AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS FACING SOUTH AFRICA AND IN PRINCIPLE TEND TO ACCEPT THE NEED FOR CHANGE. THE FARMERS, HOWEVER, ARE A GENERALLY CONSERVATIVE GROUP AND, BECAUSE OF THEIR COMFORTABLE AND POLITICALLY FAVORED POSITION, SHOW LITTLE TENDENCY AT PRESENT TO CHALLENGE THE STATUS QUO. NORMALLY THEY ARE POLITICALLY ACTIVE ONLY AS IT DIRECTLY CONCERNS THEIR WELFARE, I.E., MAINLY IN THE FIELD OF FARM LEGISLATION.

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THE FARMERS DO NOT APPEAR TO BE A FORCE, EITHER INDIVIDUALLY OR COLLECTIVELY, FOR HOLDING BACK SOCIAL PROGRESS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THEY SEEM UNLIKELY IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO BE A FORCE IN PUSHING AGGRESSIVELY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE.
END SUMMARY.

2. INTRODUCTION: SOUTH AFRICA IS HISTORICALLY A FARMING

NATION AND AGRICULTURE STILL PLAYS A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN ITS ECONOMY. SINCE MOST OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PEOPLE, WHITE AND BLACK, ARE ONLY A GENERATION OR TWO AWAY FROM THE LAND, FARMERS ARE NATURALLY A POLITICAL FORCE. THE ROLE OF THE WHITE FARMER, EXAMINED IN THIS PAPER, IS OVERWHELMING IN COMPARISON TO THAT OF HIS BLACK, INDIAN, OR COLORED COUNTERPARTS. THEREFORE, WE ARE LIMITING THE STUDY TO WHITE FARMERS AND ANY REFERENCE TO "FARMERS" REFERS ONLY TO WHITE FARM OPERATORS.

3. PROFILE: THE NUMBER OF FARMERS TODAY IS ESTIMATED AT ONLY 71,000, DOWN 40 PERCENT FROM 120,000 IN 1952. FARM FAMILIES IN 1975 MADE UP ONLY 6.07 PERCENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S WHITE POPULATION, COMPARED WITH 17.6 PERCENT AS RECENTLY AS 1936. THE 1970 CENSUS SHOWED FARMERS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO HOME LANGUAGES AS FOLLOWS: 85.9 PERCENT AFRIKAANS, 12 PERCENT ENGLISH, 2.1 PERCENT OTHER LANGUAGES. THE PERCENTAGE WHO ARE AFRIKAANS SPEAKING HAD INCREASED SLIGHTLY - BY 1-1/4 PERCENT - FROM A DECADE EARLIER.

4. FINANCIALLY, THE FARMER IS WELL-TO-DO. ACCORDING TO VOLKSKAS BANK ESTIMATES IN 1977, THE AVERAGE NET INCOME OF FARMERS WAS R18,818. WHILE FIGURES COMPARABLE WITH OTHER SECTORS ARE NOT AVAILABLE, A 1975 UNOFFICIAL ESTIMATE PUT THE AVERAGE INCOME OF A WHITE FAMILY OF FOUR AT ABOUT R8,500. CLEARLY THE FARMERS ARE IN THE UPPER INCOME BRACKETS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE HIGH INCOME OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AVERAGE FARMER TODAY IS DUE IN IMPORTANT PART TO THE FACT THAT HE IS FARMING LAND WHICH WAS BOUGHT MANY YEARS AGO OR INHERITED. IT IS THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM OF THE FARM COMMUNITY, CONFIRMED DURING THE EMBASSY'S FIELD VISITS, THAT A PERSON CANNOT BUY A FARM TODAY, PAY INTEREST ON THE LOAN, AND MAKE A LIVING. THE AVERAGE FARMER'S INVESTMENT IN HIS FARM IN 1977 WAS ESTIMATED BY VOLKSKAS BANK AT R287,400. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THIS AVERAGE FIGURE REPRESENTS AN INCREASE OF SOME 300 PERCENT WITHIN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS. PART OF THE INCREASE IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO INFLATION AND THE UPWARD PRESSURE ON LAND PRICES BY PROSPECTIVE BUYERS (FARM AND NON-FARM). BUT IT WAS ALSO DUE TO THE RAPIDLY INCREASING SIZE OF FARMS - AS SMALLER FARMERS SOLD OUT TO THEIR NEIGHBORS - AND THE RAPID GROWTH IN MECHANIZATION. (THE COST OF FARM MACHINERY HAS ALSO BEEN INFLATING). BUT IN ANY EVENT WHEN ONE COMPARES FARMERS WITH ALL TYPES OF SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN AND THE INVESTMENT OF EACH TYPE IN HIS BUSINESS, THE AVERAGE INVESTMENT OF THE FARMER MUST BE WELL UP THE LADDER.

5. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT FARMERS ARE NOT UNHAPPY WITH THE ECONOMIC STATUS QUO. WEATHER HAS BEEN GOOD IN

RECENT YEARS AND SO HAVE CROPS. FARM PRICES HAVE CONTINUED TO RISE, ALTHOUGH IN THE LAST FEW YEARS THE RATE OF INCREASE HAS SLOWED. LAST YEAR THE PRICE INCREASE WAS 12.6 PERCENT, THE TWO PREVIOUS YEARS SLIGHTLY LESS. THE PRICE RISE HAS NOT MATCHED THE COST OF FARM REQUISITES AND FARMERS ARE BEGINNING TO FEEL THE PINCH. STILL, COMPLAINTS ARE SELDOM HEARD FROM THE FARMERS - EXCEPT SOME BEEF PRODUCERS.

6. FARM MECHANIZATION IS VIRTUALLY COMPLETE FOR SEVERAL MAJOR CROPS, E.G., CORN AND WHEAT, AS WELL AS SEVERAL MINOR CROPS SUCH AS COTTON. THOUGH SEASONAL LABOUR IS STILL NEEDED IN VARYING DEGREES DEPENDING ON CROP, IT IS NOT NEARLY THE PROBLEM IT WAS EARLIER.
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7. THIS CIRCUMSTANCE HAS SEVERAL IMPLICATIONS. AS ALREADY NOTED, IT MEANS THAT FARMERS HAVE A MUCH GREATER INVESTMENT IN EQUIPMENT THAN EARLIER. SECOND, IT MEANS THAT OPERATORS OF THE MECHANIZED FARMS WORRY LESS ABOUT A POOL OF SURPLUS LABOR ON WHICH TO DRAW AND THAT SOME TYPES OF FARMERS COULD GIVE UP A PORTION OF THEIR LABOR WITHOUT MUCH FINANCIAL LOSS.

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NEXT, IT MEANS THAT AN INCREASING, THOUGH STILL RELATIVELY SMALL, PORTION OF BLACK FARM LABOR IS BECOMING SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED IN THE OPERATION OF TRACTORS, SPRAY RIGS, HARVESTERS, ELECTRICAL SHEEP CLIPPING EQUIPMENT, ETC.

8. FINALLY, IT CONTRIBUTES TO THE FACT THAT FARMERS ARE BECOMING BETTER EDUCATED AND MORE SOPHISTICATED. TO OPERATE LARGE, EXPENSIVE, MECHANIZED FARMS HAS REQUIRED AN INCREASING AMOUNT OF EDUCATION, BUSINESS ACUMEN AND MECHANICAL KNOWLEDGE. THUS, MANY FARMERS TODAY SEEM TO COMPARE WELL IN THESE FIELDS WITH THE AVERAGE URBAN BUSINESSMAN.

9. POLITICAL IMPACT: FARMERS ARE WELL ORGANIZED AND ACCUSTOMED TO PRESSING THEIR INTERESTS THROUGH VARIOUS ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY USE SEVERAL CHANNELS. THE MOST VISIBLE AND ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE IS THE SOUTH AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL UNION (SAAU), SOUTH AFRICA'S ONLY NATIONAL FARM ORGANIZATION. IT IS ORGANIZED FROM THE GRASS ROOTS UP, WITH SEVERAL LEVELS OF ORGANIZATION, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ACH HANDLING PROBLEMS IN ITS AREA AND MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS TO HIGHER UNITS ON QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE. PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES ARE NORMALLY SET UP TO STUDY NATIONAL QUESTIONS BEFORE THEY COME BEFORE THE ANNUAL NATIONAL MEETING.

10. THERE ARE ALSO NATIONAL COMMODITY ORGANIZATIONS, E. G., THE WOOL GROWERS, AND THOUGH THESE ARE AFFILIATED WITH SAAU AT EACH APPROPRIATE LEVEL, SOME OF THEM DO NOT HESITATE TO USE OTHER CHANNELS TO PLEAD THEIR CASES.

11. ADDITION, A VERY POWERFUL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT EXISTS. CO-OPS CONTROL THE MAJORITY OF BUYING OF MAJOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, E.I., 93 PERCENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S CORN, 100 PERCENT OF THE WHEAT, 70 PERCENT OF THE SORGHUM, 95 PERCENT OF THE KARAKUL PELTS, 100 PERCENT OF TOBACCO, AND 74 PERCENT OF THE CITRUS FRUITS. CO-OPS ALSO PRODUCE AND SELL SIGNIFICANT PORTIONS OF OTHER PRODUCTS, INCLUDING 86 PERCENT OF THE WINE AND 46 PERCENT OF CANNED VEGETABLES. SOUTH AFRICA CANE GROWERS AND SOUTH AFRICA CANE MILLERS IN NATAL OFFER OTHER GOOD EXAMPLES OF COOPERATIVE EFFORTS.

12. THE CO-OPS, TOO, ARE AFFILIATED WITH SAAU AND NORMALLY WORK WITHIN ITS STRUCTURE, ALTHOUGH NOT ALWAYS. THE INDIVIDUAL CO-OPS HAVE TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC POWER WITHIN

THEIR GEOGRAPHIC AREAS AND WITH THIS MUST GO CONSIDERABLE
POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

13. THE MARKETING OF EIGHTY PERCENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IS SUBJECTED IN VARIOUS WAYS TO
MARKETING BOARDS. THOUGH THE 21 BOARDS DIFFER IN FUNCTION,
THOSE ESTABLISHED FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT CROPS SUCH AS
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CORN AND WHEAT RECOMMEND ANNUAL SUPPORT PRICES TO THE
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (AND
THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS ARE
GENERALLY, THOUGH NOT ALWAYS, ACCEPTED) AND THEN CARRY

OUT THE PRICE SUPPORT OPERATIONS. IN THE LATER FUNCTION
THEY OFTEN USE THE FARM CO-OPS AS THEIR AGENT TO DO THE
ACTUAL BUYING, STORING, AND SELLING. THESE BOARDS, WHICH
OFTEN EXERCISE TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE ON FARM AND CONSUMER
PRICES, ALWAYS HAVE A MAJORITY OF FARMERS AMONG THEIR
MEMBERS. THESE FARMERS ARE NOMINATED BY THE SAAU, AND
THOUGH THE MINISTER DOES NOT HAVE TO ACCEPT ALTHOUGH
HE GENERALLY DOES.

14. LEADERS OF SAAU STATE THAT SINCE SAAU IS THE ONLY

NATIONAL FARM ORGANIZATION, ITS CONSTITUTION FORBIDS IT
FROM PARTICIPATING IN NATIONAL POLITICS. THEY EVEN
SUGGEST THAT THE ORGANIZATION DOES NOT PROPOSE NEW
LEGISLATION, THOUGH THEY WILL CONSULT ON THE PREPARATION
AND IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGISLATION.

15. THIS APPEARS TO BE A CONVENIENT POLITICAL POSTURE,
ESPECIALLY AS IT RELATES TO THE FARMER'S DIRECT INTEREST.
IN 1954, A HISTORY OF THE SAAU WAS PUBLISHED TO COMMEMORATE
ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY. IN A FOREWORD TO THAT BOOK, THE THEN
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE WROTE: "THE THREE ACTS WHICH FORM
THE CORNER STONE OF OUR INDUSTRY, ARE ON THE STATUTE BOOKS
TODAY, LARGELY AS A RESULT OF THE INITIATIVE AND UNRELENTING
DRIVE OF THE AGRICULTURAL UNION."

16. SAAU'S CHIEF TECHNIQUE OF INFLUENCING LEGISLATION
IS TO HAVE A SMALL GROUP OF THE ORGANIZATION'S LEADERS MEET
DIRECTLY AND QUIETLY WITH THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND
OTHER MINISTERS CONCERNED WITH AGRICULTURAL MATTERS. AT
THE BEGINNING OF EACH SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, SUCH A SMALL
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GROUP GOES TO CAPE TOWN AND
MEETS SEPARATELY WITH THE
DESIGNATED FARM SPOKESMAN FOR EACH POLITICAL PARTY. SO
FAR, IT APPEARS THAT FARM LEGISLATION HAS GENERALLY BEEN
A NON-PARTISAN MATTER.

17. THESE SMALL GROUPS, REPRESENTING COORDINATED FARM
OPINION, ARE ONE OF THE FARMERS' MOST EFFECTIVE METHODS
OF INFLUENCING POLICY. RESOLUTIONS, PUBLIC SPEECHES,
AND ARTICLES IN FARM MAGAZINES ARE, IN MAJOR PART, THE
BACKDROP FOR THESE QUIET DISCUSSIONS. THE SAAU'S PUBLIC
STATEMENTS ARE MOSTLY SUBDUED AND SO DESIGNED AS NOT TO
EMBARRASS THE GOVERNMENT.

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18. FARMERS CLEARLY HAVE A DIRECT AND SUBSTANTIAL
INFLUENCE ON MATTERS THAT IMPACT ON THEIR WELFARE. THE
NEXT QUESTION IS HOW DO FARMERS INFLUENCE THE NATIONAL
POLITICAL SCENE. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF FARMERS ARE
MEMBERS OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY AND HAVE FOR GENERATIONS
BELONGED TO IT OR ITS ANTECEDENTS. PREVIOUSLY, THOSE
WHO WERE NOT NATIONALIST GENERALLY BELONGED TO THE UNITED
PARTY WHICH DISBANDED LAST YEAR. MANY OF THE UP MEMBERS
APPARENTLY WENT TO THE UP SUCCESSOR PARTY, THE NEW
REPUBLIC PARTY. OTHER FORMER UP MEMBERS INTERVIEWED WERE
AT A LOSS FOR A POLITICAL HOME AND IN THE RECENT ELECTION

DID NOT VOTE. ONLY A HANDFUL BELONG TO THE MORE LIBERAL PFP. THIS HISTORY OF LOYALTY TO THE NATIONALIST PARTY SERVES THE FARMER WELL.

19. THE FARMERS POLITICAL INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL HAS BEEN ENHANCED THROUGH WHAT IS CALLED LOADING AND UNLOADING OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS (DISCUSSED BRIEFLY IN PRETORIA 3848).

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20. SOUTH AFRICA'S CONSTITUTION REQUIRES THAT EVERY FIVE TO TEN YEARS THE STATE PRESIDENT SHALL APPOINT A "DELIMITATION COMMISSION" WHICH REDISTRIBUTES THE 165 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS. THE NUMBER OF VOTERS IN EACH DISTRICT IS SUPPOSED TO BE AS NEARLY EQUAL AS POSSIBLE, BUT IN PRACTICE THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES. THE CONSTITUTION SAYS THAT NO DISTRICT CAN HAVE MORE THAN 15 PERCENT MORE OR 15 PERCENT LESS THAN THE AVERAGE, BUT IN A CONSTITUENCY WITH AN AREA OF 25,000 SQUARE KILOMETERS OR MORE THE COMMISSION MAY REDUCE THE NUMBER BY ANOTHER 15 PERCENT. AT THE EXTREME LIMITS, A RURAL DISTRICT WITH 30 PERCENT LESS THAN AVERAGE POPULATION, MAY, THEREFORE, LEGALLY CONTAIN ONLY 55 PERCENT AS MANY VOTERS AS AN URBAN DISTRICT, WHICH CONTAINS THE LEGAL 15 PERCENT ABOVE AVERAGE. FURTHERMORE, WITH DECREASING POPULATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE RURAL MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT MAY REPRESENT EVEN FEWER THAN 55 PERCENT OF THE CONSTITUENCY OF HIS URBAN COUNTERPART.

21. HISTORICALLY, FARMERS IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE CONTRIBUTED AS INDIVIDUALS TO THE LEADERSHIP RANKS BOTH AT THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEVEL FAR BEYOND THEIR PERCENTAGE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION. ACCORDING TO RESEARCH CARRIED OUT BY BROWN UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR NEWELL STULTZ IN 1973, FARMERS HAVE BEEN THE LARGEST SINGLE OCCUPATIONAL GROUP IN PARLIAMENT SINCE 1910 AND AMONGST ALL NATIONAL PARTY MP'S SINCE 1940, ALTHOUGH ON A DECREASING PERCENTAGE SCALE. IN ITS OWN ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY, SAAU COMMENTS THAT, IN THE EARLY YEARS, IT DID NOT NEED TO BE STRONG BECAUSE SO MANY FARMERS WERE IN PARLIAMENT THAT "PARLIAMENT SERVED AS THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL UNION." DESPITE THIS, FARMERS HAVE NOT BEEN THE LARGEST GROUP IN THE LEADERSHIP; BUT THEY

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HAVE STILL BEEN SIGNIFICANT. SINCE 1910, 17.7 PERCENT OF ALL CABINET MINISTERS HAVE BEEN FARMERS. TO PUT THIS FIGURE IN PERSPECTIVE, HOWEVER, IT MUST BE NOTED THAT THE FARMERS IN THE CABINET HAVE TENDED GENERALLY TO BE GROUPED IN THE LESS IMPORTANT POSTS. EVEN SO, PRIME MINISTER VORSTER HIMSELF OWNS AND OPERATES FARMS AS DO AT LEAST THREE MEMBERS OF HIS 17-MEMBER CABINET. MANY OTHER CABINET AND PARLIAMENT MEMBERS, WHILE NOT BEING ACTUAL FARMERS, HAIL FROM A BASICALLY RURAL BACKGROUND.

22. PRIORITIES: AS ONE MIGHT EXPECT, FARMERS APPEAR TO BE GENERALLY MORE CONSERVATIVE POLITICALLY THAN URBAN BUSINESSMEN AND, WITHIN THEIR RANKS, THE AFRIKAANS-SPEAKERS - THE LARGE MAJORITY - ARE THE MORE CONSERVATIVE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A SEEMINGLY CONTRADICTIONARY PROPENSITY TO ACCEPT AT LEAST THE CONCEPT OF CHANGE AND AN AWARENESS AND OFTEN SENSITIVITY TO THE RACE INEQUALITIES PRESENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. BUT THE FARMERS' CONCERNS IN THE POLITICAL AREA SEEM MUTED, EXCEPT AS THEY RELATE TO THEIR OWN ECONOMIC WELL BEING. ALTHOUGH WE DETECT CONCERN FOR RACE RELATIONS, THE SAG'S IMAGE ABROAD, AND THE NEED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, THE ONLY AREA WHERE THE FARMER SEEMS TO BRING HIS POLITICAL INFLUENCE DIRECTLY TO BEAR IS IN REGARD TO HIS OWN INTERESTS, I.E., FARM PRODUCE PRICES, AGRICULTURAL SUBSIDIES, ETC.

23. WHERE IT AFFECTS HIM, THE FARMER WILL OFTEN FLOUT APARTHEID STRUCTURE OR PRACTICE. FOR INSTANCE, THE SAAU IS WORKING TO HAVE TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR BLACK FARM LABORERS ESTABLISHED IN WHITE FARMING AREAS, INSTEAD OF THE HOMELANDS AS THE SAG HAS DECREED. ANOTHER EXAMPLE IS IN THE AREA OF WAGES AND INFLUX CONTROL. THE FARMER, WITH HIS INCREASING MECHANIZATION, NO LONGER PERCEIVES AS HE ONCE DID THE NEED TO CONTROL HIS LABOR SUPPLY OR TO KEEP WAGES LOW. IN FACT, HE IS PROBABLY OVER-SUPPLIED WITH LABOR IN TERMS OF HIS REAL REQUIREMENTS.

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24. WHILE MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN THE URBAN DWELLER, THE FARMER IS NOT THE ISOLATED, UNSOPHISTICATED BEING HE ONCE MAY HAVE BEEN. HE PERCEIVES AT LEAST IN A GENERAL WAY, THE PROBLEMS BESETTING THE COUNTRY AND UNDERSTANDS THE NEED FOR CHANGE. HIS IDEA OF CHANGE, HOWEVER, IS AN EVOLUTIONARY ONE THAT ENCOMPASSES GRADUAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCES FOR BLACKS, AND MAINLY FOR THOSE IN URBAN AREAS. HE IS, AFTER ALL, WELL OFF AND COMFORTABLE BOTH SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY AND THE STATUS QUO SUITS HIM.

25. CONCLUSION: THE FARMER HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR A DISPROPORTIONATE INFLUENCE ON GOVERNMENT POLICY. THE COUNTRYSIDE HAS ONLY marginally BEEN AFFECTED BY THE FERMENT AND SPORADIC VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED BY THE URBAN AREAS IN RECENT YEARS AND THIS HAS SHAPED THE FARMERS' OUTLOOK AND THE MANNER IN WHICH HE EXERCISES HIS POLITICAL AUTHORITY. SO FAR HE HAS NOT WIELDED HIS POTENTIAL POLITICAL INFLUENCE EXCEPT AS IT RELATES TO HIS OWN WELL BEING. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FARMER IS COLLECTIVELY A MAJOR FORCE OF CONSERVATISM THAT HOLDS BACK SOCIAL PROGRESS FOR BLACKS OR CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT POLICY. GENERALLY, HE WILL MORE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN THE DIRECTION HIS GOVERNMENT LEADS HIM. HE REMAINS, THEREFORE, A FIRM MEMBER OF THE STATUS QUO AND AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SYSTEM AND ITS PRESERVATION IN THAT HE WILL NOT BE A FORCE PUSHING FOR CHANGE. BUT IT IS PROBABLY NOT CORRECT TO PLACE THE GREATEST SHARE OF THE BLAME, AS SOME OBSERVERS DO, ON THE FARM SECTOR FOR THE FAILURE OF THE SAG TO MOVE IN A PROGRESSIVE MANNER AWAY FROM APARTHEID. EDMONDSON

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